

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

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ACTION EA-09

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C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 11071

STADIS//////////

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR JA US OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS)
SUBJECT: BRIEFING BOOK FOR SECRETARY'S VISIT: JAPANESE ATTITUDES
TOWARDS US-PRC NORMALIZATION

1. NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE US AND PRC HAS
BEEN A SUBJECT OF INTENSE INTEREST IN JAPAN, CENTERING AS
MUCH ON MODALITIES AS ON SUBSTANCE. WHILE NOT OPPOSED TO
NORMALIZATION PER SE, THE GOJ IS NEVERTHELESS ANXIOUS THAT

--ANY MOVE BY THE US TOWARD THE PRC NOT RESULT IN SUDDEN
DESTABILIZATION OF TAIWAN WITH ADVERSE EFFECTS ON THE
REGION AS A WHOLE, AND

--THE GOJ BE GIVEN ADVANCE WARNING OF ANY US ACTIONS IN
THIS REGARD.

2. UNDER THE "JAPANESE FORMULA," THE GOJ ESTABLISHED FORMAL
DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE PRC IN 1972, BUT CONTINUED TO
MAINTAIN DE FACTO RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN. SINCE THEN JAPAN
HAS BEEN ABLE TO EXPAND ITS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TIES WITH
THE PRC WHILE AT THE SAME TIME ENJOYING SIGNIFICANT
BENEFITS FROM ITS TRADE AND INVESTMENT IN TAIWAN.
CONSEQUENTLY, JAPAN HAS A MAJOR INTEREST IN TAIWAN'S
VIABILITY AND PROSPERITY.

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3. IN JULY 1976, THEN FOREIGN MINISTER MIYAZAWA
PUBLICLY CAUTIONED THAT HASTY US ABROGATION OF DIPLOMATIC
RELATIONS AND THE DEFENSE TREATY WITH TAIWAN MIGHT HAVE
DESTABILIZING EFFECTS ON THE EAST ASIAN REGION AS WHOLE.
MIYAZAWA'S COMMENTS BROUGHT FORTH SHARP CHINESE
CRITICISM AND THE GOJ HAS SINCE REFRAINED FROM PUBLIC

STATEMENTS ON THIS SUBJECT. MIYAZAWA'S MESSAGE, HOWEVER, REMAINS A VALID REFLECTION OF THE GOJ'S HOPE THAT THE US WOULD VIEW NORMALIZATION WITH THE PRC NOT MERELY AS A BILATERAL BUT RATHER A REGIONAL ISSUE AND CONSEQUENTLY WOULD NOT ACT SUDDENLY OR DRASTICALLY.

4. THE TRAUMA OF THE "NIXON CHINA SHOCK" HAS NOT BEEN FORGOTTEN AND THE GOJ HAS BEEN ESPECIALLY CONCERNED THAT JAPAN NOT SUFFER A SIMILAR SURPRISE AGAIN. THE DEGREE TO WHICH THE GOJ IS KEPT INFORMED BY THE US OF PROGRESS IN NORMALIZATION IS VIEWED BY MANY JAPANESE AS A LITMUS TEST OF US SINCERITY IN DEALING WITH JAPAN AS AN EQUAL PARTNER AND ALLY. FAILURE TO PROVIDE THE GOJ WITH SUFFICIENT WARNING OF ANY MAJOR US INITIATIVE TOWARD THE PRC WOULD SHARPLY UNDERCUT PM FUKUDA'S ASSERTION THAT HIS LDP GOVERNMENT IS BEST ABLE TO MANAGE THE TOKYO-WASHINGTON RELATIONSHIP.

5. THE PACE OF US-PRC NORMALIZATION WILL PROBABLY HAVE A DIRECT EFFECT ON THE COURSE OF JAPAN'S OWN RELATIONS WITH THE PRC. THERE IS A GENERAL SENSE, PARTICULARLY AMONG CERTAIN BUSINESS CIRCLES, THAT JAPAN SHOULD STAY AHEAD OF, OR AT LEAST REMAIN EVEN WITH, THE US IN IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH THE PRC. SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS BY THE US TOWARD NORMALIZATION WITH THE PRC WOULD PROVIDE A CLIMATE IN WHICH THE JAPANESE WOULD BE CONFIDENTIAL

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STRONGLY MOTIVATED TO CONCLUDE THE LONG-STALLED PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY WITH THE PRC.
MANSFIELD

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Message Attributes

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